1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Sixth Stanza

*539 *796 26, 27, 28 See lines 1, 2, 3.
29 Heru! Chaharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
[192] Chaharu, Water. This term applies to the supernatural power of the water; it is not used in ordinary speech; the common word for water is kil'tau.
he! part of l'haru! give heed! See line 4.
30 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Chaharu."

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ● 823 Chaharu, Water, is one of the lesser powers. Water is very necessary to the life of man and all living things. The Winds, the Sun, the Earth, the Vegetation, and the Water are the five lesser powers through which the life of our bodies is maintained. We cry to Chaharu to come near and give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared.

I told you that these stanzas are in the order of creation. The powers are mentioned in the order in which they come near to man and enable him to live and to keep alive. As we sing we reflect upon our dependence on these lesser powers.

Water is employed only for sacred purposes in this ceremony. It can not be used in any ordinary way from the time we begin the singing of these songs to the end of the entire ceremony. A man can drink water to sustain his life, but he can not touch it for any other purpose. He can not go swimming, nor can he step into water without first performing certain rites. It is difficult to abstain so long
[821] from the use of water, but it must be done or we shall suffer punishment for our profanation. We shall have storms, the sky will be filled with clouds, there will be obstructions between us and the place where the powers above dwell—those whom we invoke in this ceremony.

I have known of instances where some of the men of the party sneaked out of the camp during this ceremony, went to a stream and washed, or jumped in and took a swim, and the result was a storm that brought great distress upon the people.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

*539 *796 31, 32, 33 See lines 1, 2, 3.
34 Heru! Kusharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Kusharu, a place set apart for sacred purposes and made holy.
he! part of l'haru! give heed! See line 4.
35 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Kusharu!"

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing of the entranceway of the lodge because it is through this way that man goes to and fro. It is the place made for all to enter into the lodge; through it come those powers which are represented on the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako. Through it come the promises of the Hako, and through it the visions come. 539* 796*

The long passageway represents the days of man's life.

PART II. PREPARING THE FEATHERED PIPES

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Before the next song is sung the Ku'rahus prepares the blue paint which is to be put on one of the sticks of ash. The water with which the blue clay is mixed must be taken from a running stream. Water from a spring or well can not be used. Running water represents the continuity of life from one generation to another. [386] [823]

The paint is mixed in a white shell. The shell must be white; it is used because it was once a living thing. It lived in the water; it had no disease or sickness. As we use the shell we ask that disease and sickness may be kept from us and that our life may be long.

Before the people knew anything about vessels they used shells as spoons and to put their food in. Tirawa gave us the shells and gave them long life and the power to keep away disease and sickness. [173]

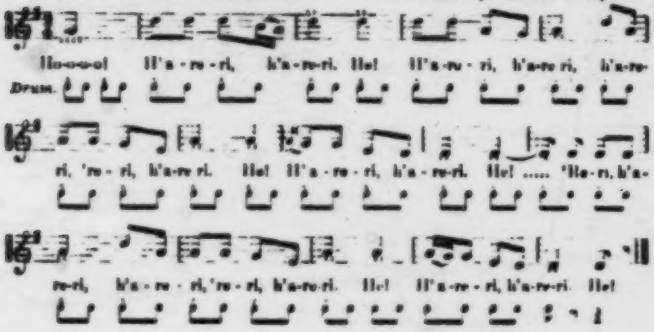
When the Ku'rahus has mixed the blue paint in the shell, he hands it to the man at his left, who is sitting toward the north. This man applies the mixture with his finger to the stick of ash, spreading the paint over its entire length, but being very particular not to let any of it get into the straight groove that runs from one end of the stick to the other, while the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]



1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

91, 92 See line 90.
93 Ir'Atira ruata re. All the words have been translated. See lines 83, 86, and 90.
94 Weri ruata. See lines 83 and 93.
95 See line 90.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus, holding the ear of corn in his hand by the butt, moves it slowly toward the bowl containing the blue paint.

The bowl and the blue paint represent the blue sky, where the powers above dwell, so we sing that the mother is flying (ruata) toward the heavens to reach these powers.

The spirit of the corn and the spirit of the Ku'rahus are now flying together (see line 86 for translation of the plural sign, re, and its significance).

Translation of Third Stanza

96 See line 82.
97 Ir'Atira, weri tukuka.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
tukuka, now touches, or touching.
98, 99 See line 97.
100 Ir'Atira, tukuka re. See lines 83, 86, and 97.
101 Weri tukuka. See lines 83 and 97.
102 See line 97.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As this stanza is sung the Ku'rahus dips his finger in the blue paint and touches (tukuka) the ear of corn with it.

This act means that Mother Corn in her flight toward the sky now touches the place where the sky begins.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

103 See line 82.
104 Ir'Atira, weri taiwa.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
taiwa, to rub downward or mark.
105, 106 See line 104.
107 Ir'Atira taiwa re. See lines 83, 86, and 104.
108 Weri taiwa. See lines 83 and 104.
109 See line 104.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus marks with his finger four equidistant lines of blue paint on the ear of corn. He begins at the tip of the ear and rubs his finger down (taiwa) about halfway to the butt on the four sides of the ear. [823]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 *796 The four blue lines represent the four paths at the four directions (cardinal points), near which the winds stand as guards. Down these paths the powers descend to bring help to man.

[23] The blue paint came down one of these paths, but I was not taught which one.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

110 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
111 H'Atira, weri tawawe.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
tawawe, to spread.
112, 113 See line 111.
114 H'Atira tawawe re. See lines 83, 86, and 111.
115 Weri tawawe. See lines 83 and 111.
116 See line 111.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus spreads (tawawe) with his finger the blue paint over the tip of the ear of corn, to represent the blue dome of the sky, where the powers dwell, above whom is the mighty Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

This act signifies that Mother Corn has reached the abode of Tira'wahut, where she will receive authority to lead in this ceremony.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

117 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
118 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
tawitshpa, the attainment of an object; the completion of an undertaking; the end reached.
119, 120 See line 118.
121 H'Atira tawitshpa re. See lines 83, 86, and 118.
122 Weri tawitshpa. See lines 83 and 118.
123 See line 118.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 796 Mother Corn having reached the blue dome where dwells the great circle of powers, Tira'wahut, and having gained what she went for, tawitshpa, authority to lead in the ceremony, she descends to earth by the four paths.

The blue paint having now been put on the ear of corn, this part of the ceremony is completed.

In all that is to follow h'Atira, Mother Corn breathing forth life, is to lead. She came forth from Mother Earth, who knows all places and all that happens among men, so she knows all places and all men, and can direct us where to go when we carry the sacred articles which give plenty and peace.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 When we have finished singing the six men take sixteen steps back to the place where the first song was sung as we faced the east. Then they take eight steps toward the south, where they stand facing the south and sing the following stanza, the people being all behind them.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 194 Ii'Uraru ha! Iiri re! Ii'Uraru ha! Iiri re!
*796 Ii'Uraru, the earth.
ha! behold!
● 823 hiri, they far away; an address to the powers of the south.
re, are, in the sense of being, living.
195–199 See line 194.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing this stanza we are standing and looking toward the south. That is the place where the sun travels, where the light comes, and the brightness of day.

As we look we ask the powers of the south to give life and increase to us, as well as to the seeds within Mother Earth.

After we have sung this stanza eight times to the powers of the south, we turn and take eight steps toward the entrance of the lodge, to a place just back of where we sang the first song to the east; then eight steps toward the north, all the people following. Here, facing the north, we sing the next stanza.

Translation of Third Stanza

200 Ii'U'raru riri wari! Ii'Uraru riri wari!
Ii'U'raru, the earth.
riri, on.
wari, walking.
201–205 See line 200.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The people are now looking toward the north, the moon, the night, the mother of the day.

We ask the powers of the north, they who can see the path of life, to lead us and make us able to walk, us and our children.

We sing this song eight times to the powers of the north.

Then the six men turn south and take eight steps toward the entrance of the lodge, to a point before the place where we sang the first song to the east; there they turn and face east and walk to the place where they sang to the powers of the west, and there they halt.

To all the powers of the east, west, south, and north we have sung and have presented ourselves. As we walked, we have traced upon

[text continues on p. 68]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 the earth the figure of a man. This image that we have traced is
*796 from Tira'wa. It has gone around with us, and its feet are where we
now stand; its feet are with our feet and will move with them as we now
*823 take four steps, bearing the sacred objects, in the presence of all the
powers and begin our journey to the land of the Sun (see figure 175).

SECOND DIVISION. THE JOURNEY

FIFTH RITUAL.

PART I. MOTHER CORN ASSERTS AUTHORITY

Explanations by the Ku'rahus

*539 After we have taken the four steps in the presence of all the powers
*726 we are ready to begin our journey, but before we start, and while we
stand facing the east, we sing the following song:

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 88.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*533

I		II	
206	Ho-o-o-o-o!	211	Ho-o-o-o-o!
207	H'Atira shira tiwara!	212	H'Atira shira tiwara!
208	H'Atira shira tiwara!	213	H'Atira shira tiwara!
209	H'Atira shira tiwara!	214	H'Atira shira tiwara!
210	Who-o ratiwa!	215	Wora tihiwa!

Translation of First Stanza

206 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

207 H'Atira shira tiwara!

h', an aspiration, symbolic of a breathing forth, as the giving of breath so that a thing may live.

atira, mother. The term is here applied to the ear of corn.

shira, it and me; it refers to the ear of corn, Mother Corn; me refers to the Father's party spoken of or speaking in the singular, as one person.

tiwara, walking in a devious or a winding course.

208–209 See line 207.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation

I

*539 *796 236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki.
wira; wi, a qualifying word meaning that an object is long or stretched out; ra, at a distance, yonder.
uhaki, something that is in a line; a stretch.
237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
katuharu, trees, timber, woods.
uhaki, a long line; a stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.
238 Katuharu uhaki. See line 237.

II

239 See line 236.
240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
uhaki, a long stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.
241 Kichaharu uhaki. See line 240.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku.
wira, something that is long seen at a distance.
wihaku, rippling.
243 Kichaharu wihaku; wira wiharu.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
wihaku, rippling.
wira wihaku. See line 242.
244 Kichaharu wihaku. See line 243.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 776 823 In this ceremony water is not used except for sacred purposes. We mix the paint that we use upon the sacred objects with running water. When on our journey we come to a stream of running water we can not step into it to cross it without asking permission of Kawas. Kawas is the mother; she represents the night and the moon, and she can permit us to enter and wade through the stream. So, whenever we come to a river we call upon Kawas to protect us, that our act of passing through the water may not bring punishment, and may not cause the clouds to come between us and the blue dome, the dwelling place of Tira'wa, or break the continuity of life from one generation to another.

The following song is our appeal to Kawas. When we sing the first stanza we enter the stream, the water touches our feet.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SONG WHEN CROSSING THE STREAMS

Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.
No drum.

533*
776
823

I

245 Ho-o-o!
246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuku.
247 Tewi hukuku.
248 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hukuku.
249 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuku.

II

250 Ho-o-o!
251 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
252 Tewi hariki.
253 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
254 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.

III

255 Ho-o-o!
256 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
257 Tewi haiwa.
258 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
259 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.

IV

260 Ho-o-o!
261 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.
262 Tewi hawitshpa.
263 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.
264 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.

Translation

I

245 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuku.
he! a part of the exclamation hirl! give heed! harken!
Kawas; the brown eagle, which in this ceremony represents the feminine principle, the night, the moon.
sire, its; a possessive pronoun referring to Kawas.
tewi, it has; refers to the water.
hukuku, a composite word; hu, from chaharu, water; kuku, to step into, as to put one's feet in the water, to wade.
247 Tewi hukuku.
tewi, it has; the water has touched the feet.
hukuku, step into the water. The feet have stepped into the water.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796
776
823

248 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
he! give heed! harken!
Kawas, the mother, the brown eagle.
sire, its; refers to the control of the water by Kawas.
a, a vocable used to fill out the measure of the music.
he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka. See line 240.

249 See line 240.

II

250 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

251 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
he! part of the exclamation hiri! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the female principle.
sire, its.
tewi, it has.
hariki, a composite word; ha, a part of chaharu, water; riki, standing.

252 Tewi hariki.
tewi, it has.
hariki, water standing. Our feet are standing in the water.

253 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hariki. See lines 248 and 251.

254 See line 251.

III

255 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

256 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
he! part of the word hiri! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.
sire, its; refers to Kawas.
tewi, it has.
haiwa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; iwa, moving in: haiwa, moving in the water.

257 Tewi haiwa. See line 256.

258 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi haiwa. See lines 248 and 256.

259 See line 256.

IV.

260 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

261 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.
he! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.
sire, its; refers to Kawas.
tewi, it has; refers to the water.
hawitshpa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; witshpa, completed, accomplished a purpose, reached an end. The meaning of the word is that the water has covered the feet.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*
776
823

362 Tewi hawitshpa. See line 261.
363 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa. See lines 248 and 261.
364 See line 261.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing the second stanza, our feet are standing in the water. When the third stanza is sung, our feet are moving in the water. At the fourth stanza the water covers our feet. So as we sing this song we enter the stream and, under the protection of Kawas, we pass through to the other side.

Every time we come to a stream across which our path lies we must sing this song.

After we have forded the stream we pause at the bank. We are wet with water through which we have just passed, but we must not touch our bodies where we are wet to dry ourselves, for the running water is sacred.

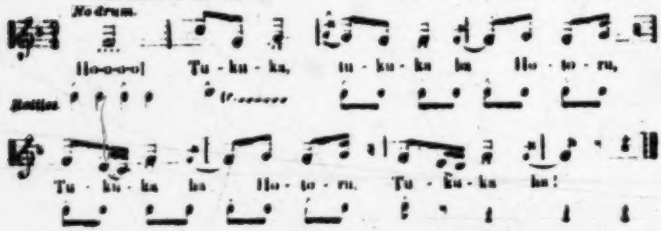
So, we sing the first stanza of the following song and call on the Wind, Hotoru, to come and touch us that we may become dry.

539*
796*
[533*]

SONG TO THE WIND

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I

365 Hoooo!
366 Tukuka, tukuka ha Hotoru,
367 Tukuka ha Hotoru,
368 Tukuka ha!

II

369 Hoooo!
370 Talwa, talwa ha Hotoru,
371 Talwa ha Hotoru,
372 Talwa ha!

III

373 Hoooo!
374 Tawawe, tawawe he Hotoru,
375 Tawawe he Hotoru,
376 Tawawe he!

IV

377 Hoooo!
378 Tawitshpa, tawitshpa ha Hotoru,
379 Tawitshpa ha Hotoru,
380 Tawitshpa ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 *796 When as we travel we come to mountains or hills we sing the following song.

[776 ●823] Hills were made by Tira'wa. We ascend hills when we go away alone to pray. From the top of a hill we can look over the country to see if there are enemies in sight or if any danger is near us; we can see if we are to meet friends. The hills help man, so we sing to them.

SONG TO THE MOUNTAINS

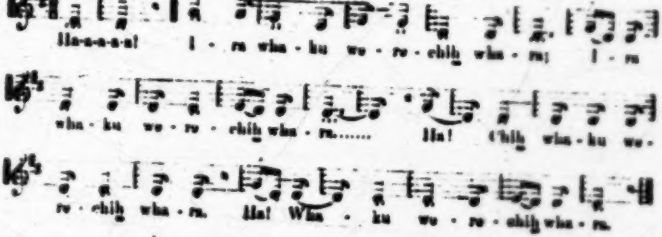
Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 108.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533] *To drum.*



I

300 Ha-a-a-a-a!
301 Ira whaku werechih whara;
302 Ira whaku werechih whara.
303 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.
304 Ha! Whaku werechih whara.

II

305 Ha-a-a-a-a!
306 Ira whaku werechih katawara;
307 Ira whaku werechih katawara.
308 Ha! Chih katawara chih wara.
309 Ha! Whaku werechih katawara.

III

309 Ha-a-a-a-a!
310 Ira whaku werechih kitta hra;
311 Ira whaku werechih kitta hra.
312 Ha! Chih e werechih kitta hra.
313 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta hra.

IV

314 Ha-a-a-a-a!
315 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit;
316 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit.
317 Ha! Chih werechih kitta witit.
318 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta witit.

Translation

I

300 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
301 Ira whaku werechih whara.
ira, yonder particular and single object.
whaku, an elevation, a mountain, a hill.
werechih, a party, a number of persons.
whara, walking, traveling on foot.
302 See line 300.
303 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.
ha! behold!
chih, the last syllable of the word werechih, a party.
whaku werechih whara. See line 301.
304 Ha! Whaku werechih whara. See lines 300, 302.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

II

686 Ho-o-o-o!
687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
688 Ta kira te ra-a he;
689 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
690 Ta kira te ra-a he;
691 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
692 Ta kira te ra-a he.

Translation

I

686 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu.
he, an exclamation calling attention to a subject or a teaching.
hitkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather, referring to the birds that attend the Hako; ha, part of rotkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. This composite word refers to the visions or dreams brought by the birds that are associated with the Hako.
688 Ta kira ru teru he.
ta, verily.
kira, brought to pass.
ru, it, the rite, or ceremony.
teru, is; the entire ceremony with its promises
he, vocable.
689 See line 687.
690 See line 688.
691 See line 687.
692 See line 688.

II

693 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
694 See the first stanza, line 687.
695 Ta kira te ra-a he.
ta, verily.
kira, brought to pass.
te, it; the good promised through the ceremony.
ra-a, is coming.
he, vocable.
696 See line 687.
697 See line 695.
698 See line 687.
699 See line 695.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

*539 In this song we are told that verily it is a truth that everything per-
*796 taining to this ceremony came through a vision. All the good, all the
787 happiness that comes to those who take part in these rites have been
● 823 promised in a dream, and the dreams which brought this ceremony and its promises came from the east; they always descend from above by that path.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 on them and knows all that they mean. We do not look on them,
796 for they are holy.

The Ku'rahus, handing the bowl of water to the young man who brought it into the lodge, tells him what to do before he throws it away.

The young man with the bowl passes through the circle of warriors and goes by the south to the east, then to the northeast, where he lifts a few drops to that direction and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes to the northwest and repeats his action. At the west he lifts a few drops to the zenith and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes on to the southwest, offering the water as before, and then to the southeast, where he repeats his offering. Thence he goes to the inner door of the lodge, where he pauses, then passes through the entrance way, and when he is out under the early morning sky he throws the water toward the east.

● [823] This is done because all the rivers flow toward the east.

EIGHTEENTH RITUAL. FULFILMENT PREFIGURED

PART I. MAKING THE NEST

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The old man who has been preparing the child now rises from his position and, stepping to one side, leaves the Ku'rahus and his assistant standing directly in front of the little child.

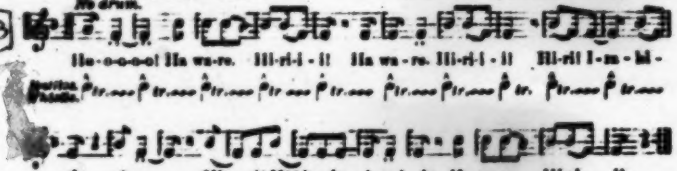
[534] These two lift the feathered stems and the rattles and wave their arms like the wings of a bird as the following song is sung three times. No drum is used, but the rattles and the whistle accompany the song.

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 192.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.
No drum.

*[538]



1258 He-o-o-o-o!
1259 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1260 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1261 Hiri! Irahisi wite.
1262 Hiri! H'Ak ukai reisi.
1263 Ha ware. Hiri-i!

[177] *The Ku'rahus did not remember what was formerly used as a covering for the head of the child; latterly it has been a black silk handkerchief.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

which do not directly appeal to the supernatural. The first stanza is addressed to the messengers; the second to the Father's party within the lodge.

SONG.*

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

I bid you travel o'er the land to the Son,
And with you take these words of mine unto him:
"Behold! Your Father comes to you speedily."

II

We wait their journey o'er the land to the Son,
When they will give these words of mine unto him:
'Behold! Your Father comes to you speedily."

FOURTH RITUAL

PART I. VIVIFYING THE SACRED OBJECTS

These first four rituals are in sequence and deal with the peculiar preparations required for the ceremony. In the first ritual the sacred articles are prepared; in the second ritual the Son is selected; in the third ritual the Father notifies the Son, who responds; and in the fourth ritual the sacred articles are vivified and assume leadership. In these preparations the supernatural powers bear a leading part. At the very beginning, in the first song of the first ritual, their presence is invoked, and in the fourth ritual, after man's preparations for the ceremony are completed, they accept his work.

The first, second, and third rituals took place in the lodge of the Father, where the sacred objects were guarded day and night by the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, or by persons appointed to act as their substitutes. In the fourth ritual the objects were for the first time taken outside the lodge, under the open sky, where the final act of their preparation took place. They were tied upon a pole and elevated in the early dawn, that they might be vivified by the powers and acknowledged as their representatives.

The order in which these sacred objects were tied upon the pole indicates their relative significance in this ceremony. The two feathered stems were placed near the top, because they typify the powers of the upper world. But they also represent the male and female elements, therefore the male stem was placed toward the south—the light, the day, the sun; and the female stem toward the north—the darkness, the night, the moon. Beneath the feathered stems were the rattles and the ear of corn, representing the living covering of

*Music on page 86.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 the earth, and below these was the wildcat skin. These typify the powers of the lower world.

●823 All these articles were tied on the pole so as to face the east. We are told in the song of the ninth ritual that down the path at the east came the powers that are potent in this rite.

Behind these objects, toward the west, where dwell the powers which influence the life of man and control disaster and death, were bound the right and left wing of an eagle. These wings were spread *796 as though supporting the sacred objects, as the wings sustain the body of a bird in the air. Throughout the ceremony the position of the two eagle wings, both when on the pole and when borne at each end of the line of men, serves to unify the different sacred objects into the similitude of a winged body. This unification does not, however, interfere with the separate functions of each article or with the character of its symbols.

The dawn ritual throws light on the significance of the elevation of the sacred objects under the open sky before the break of day. Before this act, these objects had lain at rest; but after it, when they had been vivified by the wind and the sun, they at once became active and thenceforth they led the people throughout the ceremony.

PART II. MOTHER CORN ASSUMES LEADERSHIP

This activity is manifest in the song of part II, where the ear of corn passes to the front and assumes the position of leader. The ceremonial steps taken by the chief, as he carries this representative of Mother Earth with her life-sustaining force, dramatically represent the corn as advancing out of the past (from behind the Ku'rahus with his symbolic feathered stem), coming into the present (beside him), and then going on before, moving along the unbroken path that stretches out of the past into the future. The four steps taken by the chief bearing the ear of corn refer to the four paths down which the powers descend to man, and the four steps taken by the six men following Mother Corn as the second stanza is sung indicate the dependence of man upon these supernatural powers.

*533 This song falls into six phrases. The number suggests the recog-
*539 nition of all the powers which come near to man, which are represented
*796 by the four directions, the above, and the below, thus bearing out the full significance of the symbolic steppings.

SONG

Diagram of Time

* Music on page 411.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Rhythmic Rendition

539*
796*

I

Mother with the life-giving power now comes,
Stepping out of far distant days she comes,
Days wherein to our fathers gave she food;
As to them, so now unto us she gives,
Thus she will to our children faithful be.
Mother with the life-giving power now comes!

II

Mother with the life-giving power is here,
Stepping out of far distant days she comes.
Now she forward moves, leading as we walk
Toward the future, where blessings she will give,
Gifts for which we have prayed granting to us.
Mother with the life-giving power is here!

PART III. THE HAKO PARTY PRESENTED TO THE POWERS

796* The recognition of man's dependence on the supernatural is still further emphasized by the peculiar dramatic movements which accompany the songs after the Hako party for the first time as a body passes outside of the lodge, within which all the preceding ceremonies have taken place.

796* 823 The sacred objects, which under the open sky had been vivified and acknowledged by the supernatural powers, now lead the party along certain lines defined by their symbolically numbered steps to face the localities where these powers were believed to dwell. First the east was faced and the powers there were addressed; then the west: next the south; and then the north. At each of these points the sacred objects were elevated, while the people invoked the powers to "behold" (to recognize and accept) those who were about to perform the ceremony.

796* When each of the four cardinal points had been addressed and the leader had completed the ceremonial steps, the outline of a man had been traced upon the ground. Concerning this outline the Ku'ruhus explained that it "is the image from Tira'wa." "Its feet are where we now stand, its feet are with our feet."

This figure would seem to represent a visible answer to the ceremonial appeal of the people and to indicate a willingness of the supernatural powers to grant their presence throughout the coming ceremony. This interpretation of the tracing is borne out by the words of the Ku'ruhus when he says that "it will move with our feet as we now, bearing the sacred objects, take four steps in the presence of all the powers, and begin our journey to the land of the Sun."

533* 796* The song addressed to the east is in four musical phrases while the songs to the west, south, and north are in six musical phrases. The four-phrase song is sung to Tira'wa atius, the father of all things and it is noticeable that all the songs throughout the ceremony which specially address this power are in a four-phrase rhythm. When "

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some distant vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a manifestation of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung at the crossing of a stream.

Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permission to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother, could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas. In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas. The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind, one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty incurred by profanely touching water.

In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from generation to generation.

The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The purpose of the ceremony, in the carrying out of which the male and female elements were so fully symbolized, was kept continually before the people. 796*

The lodge was divided, the north half was female, the south was male; the north was night and the south was day. The brown-eagle feathered stem, Kawas, when at rest in the holy place, lay toward the north, and the white-eagle feathered stem, the male, was toward the south. 796* 823

When the feathered stems were waved over the heads of the people to the rhythm of the songs, as they moved from the west by the north, east, and south, to the west again, Kawas, the mother, was carried next to the Children, and the white-eagle feathered stem was borne on the outside, as the defender.

Each time the sacred objects were taken up four circuits were made. These, we are told, were in recognition of the four paths; they also signified the four powers which were active at the creation of man, and they represented the two eagles, the ear of corn, and the wikbrat. This multiplication of symbols is not uncommon. In this instance they all refer to the gift of life, the birth of children. Down the four paths came the lesser powers; four of these were instrumental in placing man upon the earth; and the four ceremonial articles are the bearers of the promise of unfailing generations. 796*

During each circuit a stanza was sung four times. At the end of the fourth circuit "the symbol of completion," four times four, had been given in song. [533*]

While the lodge in general referred to the nest, the holy place at the west, back of the fire, was its special representative. There the Hako were laid at ceremonial rest after each four circuits of the lodge. From the beginning of the public ceremony this act was always accompanied by songs and movements expressive of its meaning.

The songs are in groups of two. The first in each group relates to the eagle flying toward her nest, the young birds crying out at her approach. Their welcoming cry is signified by the song, and the flying of the eagle by the movements of the feathered stems. The second song refers to the alighting of the bird upon its nest. At the close of the second stanza the stems were leaned upon the crotched stick, their feather pendants resting upon the cut skin, thus symbolizing the mother bird settled down upon her nest. 539* 796*

The songs of these two groups are repeated a great many times during the progress of the ceremony, for after every fourth circuit of the lodge the feathered stems must be laid at rest and the act accompanied by one group of these songs, according to the choice of the Ku'rahus. 533* 796*

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 782 796 276 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouthpiece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point [533 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs 535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 782 796 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made if the dance were to begin in the morning.

276 823 If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west, facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat[a] or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would be adopted.

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to Tirawahat[a] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could begin.

A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing. The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven; the others followed in the order given above, from south to north: this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrangement was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven; number 2 to the west (Christ); number 3 to the east (position of the rising sun); and number 4 at the north end of the row of four smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth. (Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven; he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half-circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground, (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit, (phase 2: first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2: second

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men east of the clearing: he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row. (Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth, (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers; here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2: first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south*. He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers: similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the *tipi*. Inside this main *tipi* or sacred tent, a covering had been

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke-offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525 The host side starting the play, the guest side initiating the guessing.

The visitors bringing a pipe smoked only by the hosts.

As to the alignment of the sides:

525 There is no such thing in these games as hereditary or traditional
621 sides.[1] The Kitkahaxki[x] came from the west and occupied the west
619 half of the circle, the head end being at the north. Original geo-
823 graphical band arrangements in Oklahoma may be indicated as follows:

N

W Tcawi Skiri E

Kitkahaxki[x]

Pitahawirat[a]

S

These geographical positions would determine the arrangement of the hand game play. A division into east and west sides meant the head end was the north; a division into north and south sides meant the head end was the west. Pitahawirat[a] against Kitkahaxki[x] would put the Kitkahaxki[x] on the north, the Pitahawirat[a] on the south, with the leaders and tally sticks at the west. The other bands would have divisions into east and west sides with the leaders and sticks at the north.

In Nebraska the arrangement also follows geographical locations, but these were different:

N

W Skiri Kitkahaxki[x] Tcawi Pitahawirat[a] E

S

In Nebraska all games would have an east-west division of sides with the head end at the north. A game played in Nebraska between the same two bands as above, the Kitkahaxki[x] visiting the Skiri would put the Skiri on the west, the Kitkahaxki[x] on the east (the exact opposite of what was played in Oklahoma) with the tally sticks and leaders at the north.

Such were the arrangements and characteristics of games played by one Pawnee band against another.

THE INTER-TRIBAL HAND GAME

525 In earlier days, before the Pawnee were removed to Oklahoma,
648 and for some time thereafter, the hand game was a contest, not only
574 between the bands ofthe Pawnee, but a contest played by any

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525 574 648 told the boys in sign language that the man outside, the crier, had announced that the Pawnee were here and had come on the warpath for the hand game; that they had come bringing a pipe. The crier had said too that as it was getting late, the people had better come at once, women and all, for the hand game. It was to be played inside the big tent of the Kiowa chief.

[431] When they had eaten enough, the Kiowa told the boys to take with them the meat that was left. By signs he said that if they felt hungry later, they would have it to eat. He gave them a pointed stick, and showed them how to stick it into the meat and so carry [482] it. He said, "I'm in a hurry now, I want to get a place there to sit." All three went over to the chief's tipi. The tent was big, but the crowd was so large that there was not room enough inside for all, so the bottom of the tent cover was rolled up all around, and those who couldn't get in settled themselves around outside. Many had to sit outside this way in the cold. If such a large crowd had been anticipated, the hand game would have been played in the open around a huge fire, but it was too late to gather enough wood to build such a big fire.

The Pawnee were sitting around the north side of the tipi, inside and out, Knifechief, as the leader, sitting at the west. The Kiowa sat around the south side, with the Kiowa chief at the west next to Knifechief. In the middle was a large round fire. The Skiri [823] Pawnee were on the north because the tribe was camped north of the Kiowa and had come south to play.

The game began at once. There was no pipe smoking. The Kiowa chief had received the pipe when Knifechief had entered his tent upon arriving.

Between the leaders at the west are the tally sticks. Alongside them lies the Pawnee pipe, now empty, pointing to the north.

The betting begins, of vests, shirts, blankets, anything of value. Each man bets against one of the other side; the two things are tied together; the bundles are heaped at the west before the leaders. In the excitement of the game, the cold is forgotten, even by those who must squat outside. The first guessers are chosen and play begins.

When they hide the bones, the Kiowa sing old hand game songs, accompanied by the beating of one hand drum. When the Pawnee have the bones, they sing their old hand game songs. They clap their hands; they do not beat a drum.

The Pawnee won the first game and took the stakes. Then they sang one Crazy Dog Dance song. Two Pawnee danced. One told of a war exploit, "Once when I was in the army,[1] we charged the

[1] Referring to an episode while a Pawnee scout with the U. S. army.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525 648 574 ●823 The essentials of this game follow those of the inter-band Pawnee hand games. Interesting is the fact of the arrangements on sides according to geographical locations. In playing Osage, Arapaho, Ponca and Omaha, as well as Kiowa, the games were usually held in tipis, though they could be held outdoors if the crowd was large. They were played around a round fire. Instruments were not used by the Pawnee for game-singing, but tribes opposing them followed their own custom. When the Skiri played the Osage, the Skiri were on the south, the Osage on the north; when the Skiri played the Arapaho, the Skiri were on the north, the Arapaho on the south; when the Skiri played the Ponca, the Skiri were on the north, the Ponca on the south. The Osage in the game in question came from the north to the Skiri. The Skiri went to the Arapaho going north – the Skiri camp was south of the Arapaho camp, hence my informant feels the alignment was in error, and that there must have been a special reason for it. Once the Skiri, on their way north to Arkansas City, met the Ponca for a hand game. They had stopped to camp south of Ponca City. The Ponca were all around them, but the particular party which came to play gathered to the southwest of the Pawnee camp, and came from that direction; hence they were placed on the south side.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The medicine men claimed to have received their power from supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies. Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers attributed to them."[9]

According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were connected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The dominating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky. The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west, Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that "next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme among whom is the North-Star, Kaririwari (One-who-does-not-move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

[9] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men. Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xli.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidí two lance society.

The Thunderbird Lance.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidí and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidí.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan, though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked, leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act [721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed [821] to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found where- [823] ever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

The Crow Lance.

The hatuʰka society was found among each of the four divisions but not in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the [184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidí alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidí: —

575 773 The name usually given this society is hatuʰka (those coming behind), so named because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 "rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a
621 number of villages all of whose members traced their
(611) descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each
778 of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while there were two others which were considered the property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to
[823] the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its first ancestor by one of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between
1778 its members and the divine donor. From their traditions the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit directions for its making than in an actual presentation of the objects. The bundles were inherited
[422 428] in the female line so that their owners were always women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the to-
[825] bacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk symbolized a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in council, were all associated with the streams. There were five of these, according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below, can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

[20] 1893, p. 358.
[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197–200.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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823
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seen from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It is known to the whites as Guide Rock." [22]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

TRADITIONS

Pawnee history, as herein discussed, consists of two major periods or divisions: First, the period of legend and tradition, which is concerned primarily with the origin and migrations of the tribe in a dim and distant past; and secondly, the period of recorded history, beginning in 1541, with the first contact between Europeans and Pawnee, and continuing down to 1876, the date of final removal of the tribe from its home on the Loup and its confinement on a reservation in the then Indian Territory. For information on the first period the traditions recorded by Dunbar, Dorsey, and Grinnell are our main source, hence are here briefly reviewed; and for the later period, the accounts of European and American explorers and travelers are drawn up in chronological sequence, particularly as relates to the location of the villages of the different bands.

175

The ancient habitat of the Pawnee, prior to their occupation of the Platte and Loup Valleys, lay traditionally to the south or southwest. Dunbar,[23] whose authority on this point is generally accepted, states that the traditions of the Grand, Republican, and Tappage bands "coincide in stating that the Pawnee migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest." [24]

173

This is partially corroborated by a Wichita legend, according to which the "primitive home" of the two tribes, Pawnee and Wichita, was "upon the Red River, below the mouth of the Washita",[25] in eastern Oklahoma or Arkansas, whence they wandered northward together. The same authority says relative to the Skidi that the "traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family"; [26] the Otos, Poncas, and Omahas were conquered at the same time.[27]

Dorsey [28] traces three of the bands back to a single ancestral tribe, called the *Kawarahkis*, which dwelt near the confluence of the Little Nemaha with the Missouri in the southeastern corner of the present

[22] According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the "hill that points the way" is actually about 3 miles north of the Kansas-Nebraska line, on the south side of the Republican River, directly south of the town of Guide Rock, Webster County, Nebr.
[23] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, pp. 251 ff.
[24] Ibid., p. 251.
[25] Idem.
[26] Ibid., p. 253.
[27] Ibid., p. 252.
[28] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
772 woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive pow-
353 ers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
84 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*, the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

776 The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
342 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
[823] power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and
[782] southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear conscious-
342 ness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook-
[252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

252 White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw-
262 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
[251] skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

773 796 782 [821] [787] to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used in the sacrifice ceremony.

Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in [292] order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin [825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood [823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm, [824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave directions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking warriors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrificial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

133 covered with a deep, compacted layer of sand. Both rivers have changed their courses numbers of times in the past and the marks of their winding fossil beds are deeply carved into the sandy layer, forming a series of shallow but sharply defined canyons and troughs. Reaching north and south between the two rivers, the curves and canyons of the two fossil beds almost meet, cutting up the whole land surface so that there is no level land and the trip across has to be made over a few narrow land bridges. The later pioneers who tried to cross this area going southward aptly named one of the best of these land bridges "Devil's Gap" (southwestern Nebraska between Lexington and Arapahoe).

*224 *484 • 823 [888] The Pawnees had a detailed knowledge of every aspect of the land they would traverse. Its topography was in their minds like a series of vivid pictorial images, each a configuration where this or that event had happened in the past to make it memorable. This was especially true of the old men who had the richest store of knowledge in this respect. Their journey out was about ten miles a day and eight on the way back when they were more heavily laden with the dried meat. Anticipating these distances, they had to plan on stopping places where there was enough level land, wood for fuel, and available water for their whole large encampment of several thousand people and many more animals. They estimated the journey out as twenty days and the return journey twenty-seven days.

*224 *484 184 Each of the four bands had different routes that they preferred. From their rendezvous camp south of the Loup, the Skidi preferred to go several camps westward along the south bank, before turning south to the Platte. The South Bands preferred to leave the settlements and go directly south to the north bank of the Platte River where they made their rendezvous camp. When they were ready to go west, they would cross over the Platte and proceed along the south bank all the way west until they came to the place where they turned and crossed the country south-

*224 *484 361 FIGURE 18-1. Approximate campsites of the Pawnee summer hunt in Nebraska. Starting from Genoa on Beaver Creek, X is the first rendezvous camp south of the Loup. Camps 2, 3, and 4 proceed west from Camp 1 along the south bank of the Loup. Camp 5 turns southward toward the head of Grand Island in the Platte River. They camped overnight between the Loup and the Platte because the sandhills between the rivers make the journey hard. Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte after crossing Grand Island and Fort Kearney. Between camps 5 and 6 a small reconnoitering party went south of the Republican to sight buffalo; they brought meat to Camp 6. Camps 7, 8, 9, 10—four camps west of Fort Kearney along south bank of the Platte, arriving at Plum Creek near Lexington, Nebraska. At camps 7, 8, and 9 individual hunters went after deer, elk, and antelope. Setting out from Camp 9, the chiefs and braves hunted a small herd in order to "feed the people." They brought meat to Camp 10. They went along Plum Creek and then southeast overland to find Turkey Creek. Camp 11—the hunting camp, where the main herd was attacked by all the hunters of the tribe. The people moved south along the west bank of Turkey Creek and encamped at its confluence with the Republican River. X near Trenton is Massacre Canyon.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ages tied to the sides of the horses would get wet. Then the question was, "Was the water on the rise, or was it going down?" People said if it were warm on Pike's Peak in the Rockies, the water level would soon be low. In order to find out whether the river was rising or subsiding, the women would set up a stick in it; if the river was rising, it would soon be covered over, or vice versa if falling. They also knew that if the river was muddy soon after getting a bucket of clear water, it was rising. The men, on the other hand, were inclined to be more impulsive and didn't bother with such observations; they simply forded the river. If the river was rising, they would have to change their plan and continue west along the north bank of the Platte until it subsided. This time they were able to cross directly. The crossing was over the western end of Grand Island, the largest of the "sand-bar islands" in the Platte. In winter it was a good place to camp, but in summer it was full of mosquitoes. Grandma would have arrived long ago and gone onto the island to pick plums and grapes. The channel is wider and shallower on the north side of the island and deeper and narrower on the south side. The island itself is five or six miles wide.

When they were ready to cross, some young men volunteers who were from eighteen to twenty years old would go ahead and stake out the path with willow sticks to show where the deep holes were. If there was a steep sand bank on either side, they would chop at it with a buffalo shoulder blade and kick it down so that there would be a sloping path for the horses. Sometimes on the return journey in August the river bed would be dry, and in this way they came to know the best way to ford the river. A group of young men of this sort would volunteer for all sorts of services, including picket duty. They always carried their bows and arrows and were constantly on the alert to see if the enemy were coming on the warpath. Sometimes as the years passed, they would continue in this way, remaining as a group even after they had become mature men. Such a group was that of Roaming Leader and his friends who had gone out on the buffalo-scouting expedition that day.

When the line of march finally got across the river, they climbed ashore and up the first bank which was relatively steep and then the second bank that had a more gentle slope. They continued west along the high bank for about two miles until they came to the place where they planned to camp.

By about four or four-thirty in the afternoon they were all encamped. A man was out taking care of his horses, and as he looked onto the horizon he happened to sight Roaming Leader and his party, silhouetted against the sky, coming over some sand hills about two miles off. From their outline against the sky, he could see that the horses were all bulging out with meat and the legs of the riders were sticking far out as they sat on top of the packs. As they rode he could also see the hides swing-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic. The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity, Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Role Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant "ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four